CAASE

Church of England's MEMORIAL Fairly Stated:

OR,

A MODEST ENQUIRY into the Grounds of those Prejudices that have been entertain'd against it.

> Pudet has opprobia nobis Et dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.

> > The Second Edition.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1705.

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Chiefio England's MEMBORIA L

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The Broad Editions.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1704.

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The CASE of the

Church of England's Memorial

FAIRLY STATED, &c.

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HE Pamphlet that falls under our Confideration, has made fuch a Noise in the World, met with such a different Reception from Church-men and Diffenters. and the Contents of it have been so warmly Canvas'd on both fides, that I cannot but think it material to Undeceive some, who are too halty in their Opinion concerning it, and inform others, who are too flow to come up to any Determination whatfoever. Not that I would incur those great Men's Displeasure, who conceive their Reputations highly injurid in this Book or am not wholly averle to Personal Reflections fince Gentlemen of their Qualities and Circumstances are not to be nam'd without the profoundelf Respect, but have such a Regard to the Government and Church Establish'd (for they are reciprocally upon the same Basis) as to make it my endeavour to Support the one by the Defence of the other; and as their Interefts are inseparable, so to blend together their dependance upon each others Prosperity, as to be neither against the State while I stand up in Vindication of the Church, or against the Church, whilst in her Vindication, I elpouse the Cause of the State.

In order to this, it concerns me in my prefent Undertaking, to apply my felf to Matter of Fact, and reduce the compais o my Discourse, to these Three following Enquiries.

I. Whether

- I. Whether the Church of England labour's under any Difadvantages, to give occasion for this Memorial?
- II. Whether the Memorial it felf is fo Criminal as it is represented?

III. Whether if it be not fo Criminal, fomething of the Rigour that is us'd towards the Persons suppos'd to be concern'd in it, might not be abated?

To begin with the First. Though the Church, at her Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, sell under the more immediate Protection of a Princess that was a Queen of her Vows and Wishes; yet her Enemies, the Dissenters from her Communion, had so Strengthen'd themselves in the late Reign, and arriv'd at such an extravagancy of Power, that they seem'd rather Establish'd, than Tolerated. A Thirteen Tears Dissimulation had render'd 'em such perfect Artists in the Trade of Hypocrise, that as our Mayors and Great Officers of our Capital City, were chosen from among them, our Country Lieutenancy and Garrison'd Towns fill'd with them, and their Croakings heard in our Royal Chambers; so the Wealth they had attain'd to by the means of this long Prevarication, through the Practice of Occasional Conformity, could not but awaken the true Sons of the Establish'd Church into a sense of the Danger might ensue from the continuance of that Abominable Practice.

And where would they hope for redress of their Grievances, but from a Queen, who from her Infancy had not only been bred up in the Establish'd Communion, but had shewn an inimitable Zeal from her Youth upwards for the maintenance of its Doctrines? From whence could they expect an Opportunity should offer it self for the recovery of their lost Rights and Immunities, if they neglected the Succession of a Monarch to the Throne, who seem'd to invite them to the Church's Security, ev'n in her sirst Speech; wherein Her Majesty was pleas'd to declare the utmost regard for a Faith which she was then

then come to be the Defenders, as before she was the Orna-

ment of?

Her publick Speaches, as well as private Discourse, were indeed full of Tenderness for her Disserting Subjects; and like a ture Mother of her Country, she pity'd the Missortunes of such as could not agree with her in Points of Worship, and gave them repeated Assurences of her Royal protection. But her Looks towards shose of her own Perswasion were of a more Amble Complexion, she not only promis'd them a particular Esteem, but made those Promises good by immediate Persormances, and the advancement of such Gentlemen to Places of Profit and Trust, who for want of Countenance in the late Reign, were excluded from the Administration; and debarr'd from giving us their Assistance by their Counsel.

In answer to these Gracious Assurances, her Majesty had been pleas'd to dispense from the Throne to the Dissenters, the no sooner gave date to the Blessed Era from whence she commenc'd her Reign, but Pamphlets were issu'd out in contempt of her Royal Authority; and Libels came forth, which not only point at her Majesty's Conduct, but that of her New Ministry, not without Threats, that is she continued the Removals, she out of her Great Wisdom had been pleas'd to make, she should find her self-under as undappy Circumstances as her deceas'd

Father.

Among the rest, a weekly Paper, call'd the Observator was almost ready to get the start of her, and was set on Foot by the Party before she was Crown'd, which not only struck at the Root of Kingly Power, sounded the Trumpet of Sedition, and cry'd to your Tents O Israel, but advanc'd such Principles as were destructive of all Civil Government, and of the greatest Discouragement to every thing that had the least appearance of Religion and Loyalty, or was any ways allied to what was Praiseworthy.

The Queen, the Prince, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Nottingham, My Lord Godolphin, and the rest of the New Ministry, were openly traduc'd, and that without Punishment of the Authors; and her Majesty

could not grant the Dutchess of Tyreounel, the Dutchess of Marlborough's Sister (a disarm'd Woman, who came over to reconcile her self to the Government, and look after her private Assairs) a Pass, but she was said to be in a Plot against her self, as Oates would have had her Uncle King Charles the Second: And honest Mr. John Tutchin was order'd by those that pay'd him his Wages of Unrighteousness, to cry aloud and spare not, and tell the People of England Her sins; to call upon the Parliament for their Animadversions on their Sovereign's Conduct, and to

examine into her Royal Proceedings.

But the Parliament was inspired with other Sentiments, and foreseeing that her Majesty was Mortal, and that Occasions once slipped, might never return again, set themselves in good Earnest to Work for the farther Security of the Church Established. The Old Laws might have been thought sufficient to deseat the Designs of her Enemies, but the Dissenters had so cluded the force of them by their pretended Conformity, for Places of Profit and Honours, that it was altogether thought necessary to provide such a New one as should cramp their suture Attempts to make any Breach what soever in the Ecclesia-stical Constitution, and circumscribe them within such Bounds as they should no more make their Escape from.

late King and Queen's Accession to the Throne; and accordingly an Act was made in their Favour. But this did not serve their turns, they were for the Exercise of the Supream Power, as well as that of their Religion, and accordingly had so Instituted themselves by complying pro Tempore with the Church Ceremonics, that they had not only made themselves Masters of vast Sums by Depredations upon the Publick, but were look'd upon in the late Reign (I do not say in this) as the only Men to be apply'd to in Cases of Emergency, and the Spring-Tides to

supply the Deficiences of an Ebbing Treasury with.

These were Motives to induce the Members of the National Church to look about them for Expedients, to wrest that U-turp'd Power out of the Dissenters Hands, and either make them altogether Members of their Communion, or not at all. For this

this end a Bill was brought in, To prevent Occasional Conformity. Which Bill was Penn'd with such a compassionate sense of the Diffenters Infirmities, and fuch a deference to tender Confciencess that it was no ways invalive of the Act of Toleration, or aim'd at the diminution of those Liberties they were posses'd of from any Parliamentary Concessions. It had nothing in it that bore the face of any Hardship, for they were left to their own Pleasures, either to serve God or Baal; either to be admitted for ever within the Pale of the Church, or keep themfelves as long as they thought fit without its Inclosures. Only the Faction was refolved to make a perfecuting Claufe where they found none, and gave out that the Penalties amnex'd to the Transgressions (without which, the Bill it self would have been to no manner of purpose) were so very Exorbitant, that nothing less than Fire and Faggot, and Smithfield Executions, could be subsequent to them.

To propagate these wicked Suggestions, and gain them a popular Reception, the Mob's Favourite and Solicitor General Mr. Foe, took his Clamorous Pen in Hand, which Spawn'd The Shortest Way with the Diffenters, and the Weekly Buffoon John Tutchin with his Country, Man Roger kept a horrid Pother about Martyrdom, Liberty and Property, Arbitrary Power, Magna Charta, and all the Terrible Names he could think of to amuse the Vulgar with, though to no purpose at that time, for the Government was then pleas'd to think the last of these Arrogant Scribes beneath their Cognizance, and only took Notice of the First, who was made an Example of, to deter others from the like Infolence, and Fin'd, Pillory'd, and Bound over to his good Behaviour for feven Years; though how he has kept up to the Tenour of his Bonds, what I have to fay in another place will more opportunely shew.

Yet notwithstanding all the Pestilent Invectives that clog'd the Preis, and were a Nuisance to the Eyes of good Men upon Bookfellers Stalls, the Commons went on with their Bill, and having Read it a third Time, refolved it should Pass, and be carry'd up to the Lords for their Lordships Concurrence, where inwas to be observed, after the Prince schough bred up in ano-

forences.

ther

ther Communion himself) and most of the Great Officers at Court, some sew excepted who belong'd to the Old Ministry, were for the Bill, while a Majority of the B.—p's, when its very Foundation was grounded upon a farther Security for the Epifopal Government of the Church, were violently, by may of Mos deration, against it, and it was thrown out of the Upper House of Parliament by a Majority, when it had made its way through

the lower House almost Nemine Condraditente. 10 2010 1019 nwo

This overthrow given to their suppos'd Enemies, who were in reality their Friends, gave Birth to abundance of Lampoons and Stayrs upon the Church Party, and the Whigs were not backward in the multiplying the Advantages they pretended to have gain'd by a Mighty Majority. Black Lifts were difpers'd about, of such as were for Persecuting Principles, as they call'd them, and Panegyricks flew as thick as Hall in Praile of the Noble: Patriots that flood up for Liberty and Property, and a Permiffion for them to Sin on in the Practice of Hypogrify, which cou'd terminate in nothing elfe but their Eternal Damnation? The Proto P--- who pinn'd his Faith upon the Laity's Sleeve. and faid, It could not be a good Bill, because the L .- S -- declar'd his Opinion that it was a bad one, was more valuable spoken of than their own President of their Presbyterian Synods, Mr. How: and a certain Powerful Divine who had more esteem for the Revenues of the Hierarchy, than the Function, and argued for the Legality of Occasional Conformity from his own Practice, was Arrogant Scribes bengath their ment Hirw wirring Dropes a

However another Sellion enfued, and the Bill was introduc'd into the House of Commons again, who receiv'd and pass'd it as before, and left it to their Lordships Consideration once more; Her Majesty, previous to this Session (we are not to question but for the Churches Advancement since they were eminent in their Zeal for the Religion Establish'd) had by Her Royal Creation made several New Peers, which made it beyond a doubt, that the Bill would have its intended esset. But it happen'd otherwise, for not withstanding this was a new Accession of strength to those that were Zealous against Occasional Conformity, to the Church's great disappointment, after several Conferences.

ferences and Amendments, we faw the Bill return'd to the

Commons again by a far greater Majority than before.

Who were at the bottom of these Transactions, is above our Sphere to inquire; only it was to be supposed, and that not without Reason, that all those Gentlemen that would have been thought to have espoused the Cause of the Church, did not act under hand in Favour of Her, as might have been expected from Persons whose Education promised otherwise, and whose Abilities were of such a prevailing Instuence, as to have fixed Her upon such a lasting Foundation, that all our S—75, W—ns and H—15, all our Whigs, Atheists and Deists, our Adulterers, Whoremongers, and Kit-cats, no not even the Gates of Hell should have prevailed against Her! But the Fathers of the Church were against the Precautions taken by the Sons of it, and even this Session concluded Re-Insesta as to matters for the farther Security of the Establish'd Religion.

One or two Disappointments were not of force enough to discourage Gentlemen of such immoveable Resolutions as the last House of Commons, wherefore they push'd forward the Third Time, to bring what they aim'd at to its desir'd Conclusion, since the Well-being of the Church of England depended only upon the single Thread of the Queen's Life. They had attempted all the common Methods, which had been us'd to be put in Practice, and were of no manner of force with their Lordships, (not that Tacking was a new way of proceeding, since it was upward of 500 Years standing) wherefore they were fully bent to deviate from the Paths they had trod in during the Reign of Her present Majesty, and make use of means, which Recourse had been had to in those of Her Royal Predecessors.

But that it might seem of as little Force as possible upon their Lordship's Concurrence, before they joyn'd it as a Clause to the Land Tax, they alter'd it so as to bring it to the Conditions, it was offer'd by them to be pass'd by; and that they might see the regard which was had to the Act of Toleration, offer'd such a Security for the perpetuity of it, which might have been allow'd by those that have any Reverence for Queen,

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Lords

Lords or Commons, (wide Preamble of the Bill Printed for Edward Jones) who had thereby pass'd their words, and be-

come Quarrantees for the continuance of it.

What Security after this will farisfy some Gentlemen it is hard to determin, since they were offer'd the best that could be given (the fame upon which we lend our Money, and hold our Estates, Liberties and Lives, and whatsoever else we have the Enjoyment of) the Law, which nothing can transcend, except it be a Power above Law, which was the very and only thing this Bill was frushed to take away from some People, who seem very resolute not to part with their Dissenting Power.

The Law had in the Corporation and Test Acts declar'd, that Differers should have no Civil or Millitary Offices, and has therefore appointed a way which the wifdom of the Nation thought fufficient then to keep them out. The Difenters refol'd norwithstanding to dispense with the Law, and have fuch Offices and Places; and in their Wildom coutriv'd a way to baffle the Law, and to get into those Places in defiance of it. They did so, and how they did it we all know. But the Wisdom of the Nation observing that Judgment in another World, and the expectation of a Reward after this Life, did not operate to powerfully upon the Confeiences of the Saints, as to bilk them of any Secular Advantages, the Senate refolv'd to enforce their Laws, and to the Terrors of the next World, to add a little to the Awe of this, and to inflict some of the Pains and Penalties of it upon fuch gross Prevaricators; which pains and penalries therein specified make the whole and sole difference between the intended Act to prevent Occasional Conformity, and the Test-Act already and yet in Force.

Now the manner in which both the Honourable House of Commons and their Bill had been treated the Session before, gave them little hopes of so fair a Correspondence, as might produce any satisfaction to them on that Head by the ordinary Methods. Besides what had pass'd within Doors, which they had no great Reason to be pleas'd with, they had seen themselves insulted publickly, and they and their Bill made the Scorn and Sport of a Play-House Rabble, and this begun, and

promoted by some, who should have had more respect to them as a House of Parliament, whatever private Pique or Malice they might bear to the Persons of any particular Members.

Thele, with some former Indignities for which no Reparation had ever been offer'd, gave them Reason to think, that not only the Church of England, but the Honour and Authority of the House of Commons, was in danger of being for ever lostonif they had fuffer'd themselves to be baffled wish formuch Concempt, in so Important a Point; and therefore they consider'd whether there were not vet left fome Parliamentary Method of doing Themselves and the Nation Justice: And as they were Representatives of the People, and a Third Estate of the Realm. they believ'd they should be guilty of a Breach of Trust, little inferior to Treafon, if they fuffer'd the Authority committed to them to be trampled upon; and therefore they concluded to Tack that necessary Bill, which had been the occasion of these Infults, to the Land Tax; an Attempt worthy the Noblest Spirits, and becoming true Patriots, whatever the Success was (vide Mercurium Politicum, Num. 11.)

As their Lordships were not without their Correspondents in the Lower-House, so to prevent what was coming upon them, they enter'd a Protestation in the Journals of their House that they would receive no Bill whatsoever that came up to them after that Fashion; but their Lordships might have spar'd themselves the trouble, since what through the weakness of some, and the Timerous Disposition of others, those worthy Patriots that contended for the Church, could not get it through their own House by that Brave Expedience. Wherefore it was sent up to them once more Naked, and without any other Recommendation than the Righteouspess of its Design, to be kick'd out of Doors again.

Soon after this both Houses of Parliament were prorogued, and Lists were dispers'd abroad of the 134 Patriots that were for Tacking the Bill, the Observator, Review, and other Hireling Pamphleteers had their Orders to blacken them as much as possible to their several Countries and Corporations to render them odious to their Electors, nay even to subject them to the Fury

of the Mob, under the Notion of being Traytors to their Country and in a French Interest, even when they were Men of the greatest Estates in the Nation, and who had those Estates to lose on occasion of the French getting the better of us.

But no Confideration could move the mercinary-Scribes from perfuing them even to the lofs of their Reputations, and Lives too, could they have fo brought it about; neither their vigorous Opposition to Popery and Arbitrary Power (lince the greatest part of them were Gentlemen who came early into the Meatures of the late Revolution) nor their deep concern for the welfare of their Native Country, made fuch an Impression upon the Minds of some People, as might have been expected from Men of grateful Dispositions. 'Twas enough to cancel all Obligations that they were for the Tack, even when the Differting Party themselves had so obstinately made use of it in the Times of King Charles the First and Second, in such a manner, that neither of them scarce ever receiv'd a Subsidy. but they were forced to part with one of their Prerogatives in exchange for it, and they must be consider'd as Enemies to the Queen, because they were such zealous Afferters of the Rights. of the Church, which is a downright Contradiction.

To speak of the many Insults these worthy Gentlemen have receiv'd, and to instance in the Rudeness and Barbarity they have been treated with on the foregoing Account, at the several Places of Election (in particular that for the County of Chester) would swell my Design to a Bulk beyond its intended Proportion; wherefore I shall pass them by, as sit to be laid before a Committee of wileges and Elections, under whose Cognizance they directly fall, and take my leave of this Head, with a brief Account of the Proceedings of one of these Horrible Tackers, who tho' he may not have made such a Figure in the World as a Man of his Merit, has shewn even the most Confcientious of the Adverse Party such an Example, as their selfish Regards to their own Profits and other worldly Emoluments have render'd Impracticable to their Imitation.

Ab uno disce owner. From one of these Gentlemen's Illustrious Actions, you may learn those of the rest; and though our Seymours, our Browley's, our Mackmorths, &c. have supply'd the British Annals with Matter for their Histories, there is room to be made for one, who has not as yet employ'd the Mouth of Fame, but has equal Capacities and Deserts to recommend him to the Esteem of Future Ages: And this is Mr. Fox, who has been divested of his Place as Paymaster of the Army, three several times. The Reader is to be left to judge upon whas Occasions.

In King James the Second's Time, when that unfortunate Prince was making what Interest he could in Parliament, to capacitate Gentlemen of his own Religion for Offices and Places of Trust, which could not be effected without Repealing the Test Act: This worthy Gentleman was advis'd by his Friends, who knew the Value his Majesty had for him, to abfent himself from Parliament rill the Debates were over upon the Bill for that purpose; which he did for some time. But the day being come on which the Question was to be put, he found fuch a Concern growing upon him for the Cause of the Church, which would have been endanger'd by fuch an Act, that mov'd by the Impulse of his Conscience, he could not be easie till he went to the Speaker's Chamber. His coming there occasion'd his Friends to be importunate with him again to withdraw himfelf; which he feemingly promis'd: But hearing the Debates arising in the House, he could no longer contain. himself, but went into the House, even after the Question was put, a thing that was unfual, but then allow'd, and carry'd it against the Bill in the Negative by his single Vote; for which he was Reprimanded by King James, and difmiss'd from his vawe to give as implicit Credit to the General tyyolqma sldaul

Post again, and continued in it without any exceptions against his Conduct, till a Bill for a Standing Army was setting on Foot, which he strenuously Oppos'd, and by these Means for seited the good Opinion of that Prince, who likewise remov'd him from Court, and gave him his Quietus est, because he could

not violate his Conscience, or act Counter to the Principles he had entertain'd for the good of his Country now have

Her present Majesty had no sooner fill'd the Throne of her Ancestors, but this Worthy Gentleman was admitted into the Court again, with several others, who had no benefit of its Sun-shine during the past Administration, where he continued, in the exercise of his Trust without Exception, till after the Tacing Concern, when he retreated again to his own Privacy, whether Voluntarily or Coercively, we are not to determin, since the proceedings of living Princes are not to be sound

otherwise than in favour efitheir Proceedings.

The thoughts of such a Gentleman's removal from the Court, with the Noble Patriot's as well belonging to the House of Lords as that of the Commons, could not but produce melancholy Restections; and since what the Whiggs alkalong aim'd at, was to Elbow them out from the Power and the share of the Administration, it could not but occasion the deepest Sorrow in all true Church men, to see their Designs successful. Not that the Queen was guided by them, but upon I know not what Fatility Marters so fell out, as to give us cause to Remonstrate to the Royal Ear, that the Church's best Frinds are consequently those of her Majesty, which may be an Excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty and the state of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account for the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account so the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account so the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account so the seasonableness of the Majesty which may be an excise sufficient to account so the seasonableness of the s

nisThe next thing that falls undersour Confideration, is the Memorial it felf, pursuant to our Second Enquiry; which is, whether the Memorial it felf is fo Criminal as it is represented?

we to give as implicit Credit to the Generality of the weekly Papers and Pamphlets (I mean those of the Whiggs) as the generality of their Readers, which are the most unthinking part of Mankind, do. The Review, Moderator, Observator, and High-Church Legion, all agree that it's a Scandalous Libel; and tho' they frequently sell out with one another, they joyn hands in this, blues and suppose that it's a scandalous Libel; and tho' have frequently sell out with one another, they joyn hands in this, blues and suppose that it's a scandalous Libel; and cord-

according to the Maxim of; Qui non conveniant inter se, conveniant in aliquo Terno: That it is of the most permicious Confequences. Says the First, Numb. 56. Vol. 2. 'I confess, I believe
no Man that has a respect for the Church of England, or the
Constitution of the English Government, can read it with
out Hortor. And in Numb. 571 Vol. the same, goes on after
this manner: 'I could fill a large Book with the Belchings out
of these Hellish Vulcano's, these Members of Mount Atna,
whose Threats are a burning Abyss, a center of Envious Exshalations, set on fire of Hell, which break out in horrible
Executations against their Neighbours, but will at last end in
Burning and Destroying themselves, and their Malice will
go out with a Stench.

Amongst the rest, (and more Pernicious than all) says the Peaceable Moderator Numb. 11, is a wicked Book lately Publish'd, call'd the Memorial, &c. I had thoughts of speaking to some particular Passages of it, but upon Consideration, I refolv'd to let it alone, not knowing but even Citations from

it, the Animadverted on and Expos'd, might prove Mic-

enievous; for indeed the whole of it is fo Black and Abomi-

Suther burnt by the Common Hangman of the exact of

Cry's the Modest Observator, Vol. 4. Numb. 33. by way of Reply to it at his Countryman's Request, 'I shall fay something in General of this Book, but should I enter in Particulars, I should oblige the Queen's and the Nation's Enemies, by Publishing a Libel which is wifely Supprest by the Government: 'Tis true, where Poison is dispers'd in a Kingdom, Antidotes ought to be Publish'd; and whilst I live, none of the Enemies of our Peace shall fix a speck of Dirt on her Majesty and Government (except my felf) but I'll take care. "to wipe it off, which I can do through every Paragraph of this. Book, and would do it, did I not consider that a Manimuny times, a true Zealot for his Queen and Country, may do what. "may tend to its Disservice. Let it rest here; be tellahe World, that there is a Villainous Libel Written and Printed chievous Confequence; maminisvoo bna vhajallarad fluispace Fourthly

Fourthly and Lafely, the Author of the High Church Legion in his Catch-Penny Dedication to the Lord Godolphin (as the Observator calls it) speaking of the Party that were Authors and Publishers of this Memorial, lays it down for an undeniable Position, that "Her Majesty has a double Portion of the Rage " of this Party thrown upon her Royal Conduct. ... The Mode-" ration of the Queen is first Ridicul'd and Abus'd, and Her " Majesty is then said, with an unparallell'd Insolence, to be "wean'd from the Church, and that the Church does not " stand in the same Rank in her esteem as it formerly did: " The Bishops are charg'd with being Traytors to the Church " and the Sacred Office, discharg'd from a signature of a True " Church-Man. The whole House of Lords are faid to Bully " the Commons with things which they have nothing to do " with. All the Loyal Church of England Men in the Nation, "that are not for the shortest Way with the Dissenters in the

" literal Senfe, are Abettors of a Faction, &c.

I could produce many other horrid Suggestions against this poor Pamphlet, and the Persons supposed to set it a Foot, but shall only instance in another Review of a Later Date, wherein he fairly pulls of the Mask of Moderation, and proposes a down-right Massacre of the Church Party, by advising the Government to Order 100000 of the Memorials to be Printed, and sent into all the Counties of England, as the Levite, that cut his Concubine into Pieces and sent her to all the Tribes of Israel. The Lyes, the Absurdities, the Contradictions, and Ill-Manners of this Book, like the Limbs of the Murthered Harlot, must fill all the People with Indignation at the Hellish Design, and turning the Tables upon themselves, bring the Just Resentment of the Nation upon them, and at last endanger their own Party to bear their Insolences to the Queen, their most abusive Scoundrel Treatment of Her Majesty, how can it be born with Patience, and without a Just Revenge. Numb. 64.

These are dangerous Imputations, and to be against the Queen and Government, to traduce the Ministry, and revile those that are set over us by God's Anointed, is of such mischievous Consequence as deserves to be punish'd by the Judge.

But hold, Gentlemen, the Proverb says, One Man's Story is good till another's is told. Let us enquire into the Memorial it self, and that will shew us whether things are fairly Represented; and if Expressions and Sentences therein, are not wrested to serve the Designs of a Party that are for Embroiling the State, and bringing us into the Confusion we have severely

fmarted for within fome of our Remembrances.

That we may take a full View of the scurrilous Language is pretended to be given to the Q. and her Ministry, it may not be improper to give the substance of this Detestable Memorial, that calls for fuch Temporal Displeasure on the Church Establish'd, in the Opinion of the Scriblers above mentioned; and here we shall find, 'That tho' the Church feems under the Patronage of the Queen, to be in a very flourishing Condition, it has a Hellick Fever lurking in the Bowels of it. That in the preceding Century the Church and State was violently overturn'd by the Sectaries of the same Principles of those now 'Tolerated in Places of Trust; that the Sons of those Sectaries 'yet remain and inherit many of them their Fathers Principles, which were, to purge the Land of what they held in Abomination, the Discipline and Worship of the National Church; and that their Proceeding in Scotland, during the two last Reigns, fufficiently shew what Treatment we might expect. if they had the Power.

'That at her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, they were for preaching Peace, Charity, Forgiveness of Injuries, &c. as being apprehensive of their Carriage towards her and the Members of the Church of England, in the foregoing Reign; but when they met with not so much as a Rebuke, but comfortable Speeches and Assurances from the Q. the Spirit of Humility vanish'd, and they recover'd themselves into their former Insolence and Presumption. That every thing has pass'd in Scotland to the Desire of the Presbytery, but nothing here in England for the security of the Church. That all attempts to Settle it, have been rendered Inessectual; and that the Staves were taken from the E. of Fersey and Sir Edward Seymour, the Seals from the Earl of Nottingham, an able and faithful Minister,

and

' and his high Command from the Earl of Rochester; all which Gentlemen adher'd firmly to the Interest of the Church.

'That the Conduct of the L - - - T - - , has been fomething 'Mysterious; and that even he and the D --- and D --- of ' M --- have been abus'd by the Artifices of S---d with his 'New Alliance; that her Majesty herself by the same means (fince Princes are not Infallible) is fuspected to have been Im-' pos'd upon through falle Misrepresentations of the great numbers of the Diffenters; That her Majesty's Gracious Disposi-'tion and Inclination to render all her People Happy, was laid ' hold of as a Screen for these Abuses, and Moderation was the 'Word, the Pass par tout that open'd all the Place Doors be-'tween the Lizard-point in Cornwal, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that upon the Introduction of this New-' fashion'd Word, some Gentlemen who had made a handsom 'Figure in Parliament, and had render'd themselves conspicuous, had abated of their former Zeal, and grew cool in their 'Concerns for the Church here in England, while the word ' Moderation was Heathen Greek among the Brethren cross the · Tweed.

'That those of the Church that know the Queen's Piety and special Zeal for the Church of England, cannot but think some late Alterations in the M.....try, arise from no ordinary Cause, or from any thing less than a lively Apprehension of some very great Danger, especially when they consider their own firm Adherence to her while Princess, and their dutiful and affectionate Carriage to her ever since, having comply'd with all her Desires only in the Case of the D. of Marlborough, when his Services were in their Insancy, which they have made ample Amends for since, not only in their Concurrence to acknowledge his good Services, but recommending them in a most Special and Honourable manner to Her Majesty's surther Consideration.

'That the Church-men by the repeated Exhortations from the Th...... to Peace and Union, find themselves almost as sensibly reproach'd with want of Christian Charity, &c. as by the open Aspersions of the Dissenters and their Hire-

tings, who under the Buffoon Names of High-flying, Tantivy, Perkinite, &c. are employ'd to traduce and banter all Care of the Government, Ecclefiastical and Civil. That the Independents and Presbyterians formerly in England and Ireland, the Kirk of Scotland heretofore and at present, the Anabaptists at Munster, the Lutherans in divers parts of Germany, Smeden, Denmark, &c. the Calvinists in Holland and at Geneva, and the Roman Catholicks almost all the World over, have shewn they will not endure a Rival Church in their Dominions; and even the Quakers themselves, who never had any Dominion any where, and therefore may make the strongest Pretentions to Moderation, will not so much as lay out their Money with a Tradesman of another Perswasion, &c.

That the Church of England regrets the Loss of those favourable Regards, which their constant, dutiful; and affectionate Behaviour might give them a just Expectation of. That the Reasons pleaded for clogging and damping the Affairs of the Church, are, first, the Times will not bear other Measures; that its Enemies are numerous and powerful, and must not be provok'd at this Juncture; the Queen must have the Hearts of all her People, and give them equal Encouragement, the old seditious rebellious Race of Fanaticks and

Whigs, is extinct, and their Leven worn out, are of the fame Face and Appearance as the Temporizers of all Ages

have given.

In answer to which, the Memorialist goes on to say, 'That in point of Time, in all dangerous Distempers, we must make the earliest Applications, as in acute Diseases of the Body, and he that defers the Remedy under the Pretence of waiting for a Criss, betrays the Patient to the Danger of being lost; and brings an Instance from the redressing the Grievances of the Coin in the late Reign, when the War was judg'd, by many, an inconvenient and hazardous Time to rectify it in, yet not-withstanding, the Dissiculties were surmounted, and the Event has shewn, that the certain Mischief of the Delay would have been much greater than the Hazards from the immediate Remedy of Re-coining.

'As for the Diffenters being too numerous to be disoblig'd. '(which the Memorialist supposes, but will not grant) he pro-' ceeds to give us Reasons for no manner of Apprehension from the 'Sullenness of their Temper on that Head, and makes appear, that our Fleets and Armies are mann'd and form'd of fuch as can conform to the Church; and as for their denying us the Affiftance of their Purses, they were never known to be so blind to their own Advantage, fince even their fo much boafted God-· lines is nothing else but Gain, as not to close in with good Interest and prompt Payments. He likewise intimates, to bring the Pretenders to Moderation, to a true moderate Tem-' per, and by way of Caution, reminds some in Authority, that ' though the Principles of the Church of England will dispose 'Men to bear a great deal, he's a Mad-man that tries how 'much; for when Men are provok'd, Nature is very apt to rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Na-'ture's fide; for tho' the Church cannot be wrought up to 'Rebellion, yet they may be alarm'd fo as to fecure themselves at the Peril of those M.....rs who give them the Alarm.

• Which last Position has rais'd such a Hurricane among the passionate Pen-men, such as the Review and Observator, as to be made use of by those Incendiaries for an Argument to Impugn the Church of England's Loyalty with; wherefore I shall refer the Reader to some Remarks upon their base and unnatural Interpretation of it, at the close of this second Enquiry, and follow this Author, (who has given so much Distaste to some People, that he stands Convicted before he has put himself upon his Tryal) through the rest of his Remonstrances that

are made fuch Handles for the G.....ts Offence.

'All Parties say, his Adversaries are to be encouraged without Distinction, which he can by no means allow of, since
Friends and Enemies, Affectionate and Disaffected, Trusty
and Treacherous, would from hence be equally Esteem'd,
which would be the bane of the Government it self, and leave
fome Gentlemen less certainty of continuing in their Posts,
than if none but true Church-men were possess'd of Offices
and places of Trust; and proceeds to inform his Reader farther

ther by way of Intrerogation, that simple and sudden Conversions of the Mind are to be suspected, and that there are some Reliques of the old Leaven still remaining among such as make a shew of coming into the Bosom of the Church by sham Conformity, and that it was much to be doubted their Affection to Her Majesty was not over sincere, who ill treated

and bespatter'd her when Princess.

' From hence he takes Dr. Davenant's persecuting Argument to Task, and fully proves, in spightof that Trimming Author's Essay upon Peace at home and War abroad, prohibiting Occa-'fional Conformity to be no Persecution, and makes appear, that Civil Trust is not any Man's Birth-right, (as some Advocates for Spiritual Jugling have vainly pretended) but the Refult of the Confidence the Government has in our Merit and Fidelity, and that the Gift of it is a matter of Grace, not Right: That the Diffenters always abus'd the Trust they have been admitted to, from the Experience of King Charles the First's Reign, in which they actully procur'd the Subversion of Church and State against the King; and of King James the 'Second's, wherein they voluntarily offer'd to Sacrifice the Laws and Immunities of em to him. That the Bill against Occasional Conformity, is not only reasonable, but necessary, ' fince besides its Scandalous Equivocation and Jesuitical shifts, the Sectarians by the means of it, openly stile themselves the Church of England by Law Establish'd, and so pretend to evade all the Laws that are or shall be enacted in her Favour, but ' lay claim to, and perhaps in Time may arrogate Soberly to themselves the Priviledge, and fix upon the Church the Penal-' ties of those discriminating Acts. That they join with the De-'ifts, Socinians and Latitudinarians, who by their Means would 'pull down the Chuch, and who are no Friends to the Diffenters, yet are embrac'd by them, even while it is against all 'the Dissenters in General to pull it down.

'That though it is against their Interest, it's their design; to prevent which, we are caution'd to distinguish between those that are of and for the Church, and those that are of the Church only. That the Division of the Church-men into High and

and Low, is groundless and knavish, and is a dangerous Difinction fet afoot by their Enemies; That if the strict Ob-' fervation of the Rubrick and Canons, denominates a Man to be a High Church Man, every Presbyter of the Church of ' England ought to be a High Church Man; and there is no ' High Church Man but the Pope, nor no Low Church Men but the Fanaticks and their Abettors, who are prov'd to be dange-' rous to the Church.

'That tho' the Queen is in her own Person zealous for ' the Church, of which she is the visible Head, and all and 'every individual Minister or Person in Credit about her, is ' folicitous for the same good End, yet they are but Men, and That the Danger of delaying the Bill confequently fallible. against Occasional Conformity, is very great on Account of ' the Successors to the Crown; and it can't be expected, that ' those who have been educated in the Knowledge of other Doctrines, however Good and Gracious they may otherwife be, will come over with an extraordinary Regard for a Church, to the very Principles and Discipline of which, they may probably be great Strangers; and that the Diffenters are not con-' tented with Liberty of Conscience, but for wresting the whole

'Power into their Hands, as in King William's Reign.

That no Reign can be more opportune for this Bill, than her Majesty's, and that whatever Objections or Opposition ' may be made to it now, may probably be made then; when our Prince, for want of fufficient Acquaintance with our 'Church and Us, shall perhaps not be so able to discern the 'Unreasonableness and Fallasy of them, as the Queen is; that out of 34 P.....rs Sp......l and T.......l, created in the late Reign, ' fcarce above five, either in that Reign or this, ever gave a Vote for the Interest of the C.....h or C........ in any Criti-'cal Question that concern'd them, and what a dangerous Majority fuch Creations may make fomewhere, we find already 'to our Sorrow; and therefore in this Reign, in which only " we can hope to do it, should provide against fuch Mischiefs for the Future.

'That the design of Ministers are to be judged by their Conduct, and the mischief of their first false Steps, who under pretence of Moderation, and healing our Breeches, and calming our Animosities, have made them ten times wider; and more stagrant, is irreparable, should they live up to the Age of Mathusalah, and govern as Wisely and Uprightly for thef u-

ture as Numa or Lycurgus.

'That the Trimining of Great Men, though perhaps diffembled, strengthens the Whigs, that Friendships founded on Ambition, are Fallacious and Dangeous, and never Lasting; for he that to serve a present Turn gives up his Old Friends, to serve a suture One, will give up his new Ones to them to recover 'em again; and that the Whigs, if they be Wise, will consider for what Ends they are at present Cares'd, and whether their own Share of the Nuts they are employ'd to take out of the Fires, be worth burning their Fingers.

'That it has been the common failing of most of our great 'Ministers to neglect those who have constantly, and out of 'Principle or Inclination, been in their or the same Interest with them, to purchase those who have been in a contrary, and that all Ages and Countries have abounded with the 'Slaves of prosperous Greatness, and that all Favourites have been equally attended by them during its continuance, and 'alike deserted by them when that was gone, since it was not

the Man, but his Fortune that they courted.

'That the extraordinary Changes at Court cannot proceed from the Sale of Places, and that the Queen so far approv'd the Service of some Great Men of the Church of England who laid down, as earnestly to desire the continuance of it in the same or better Post. That we may justly suspect the Grounds of their Retreating from Court, was their seeing such Things carrying on as they could neither concur with, nor prevent; and therefore consulted their own Honour by so doing, lest by appearing to countenance them, they should share the Imputation; and that from the choice of Whigs to succeed, it looks as if some Persons had a design to guard all the Avenues

'to the Q.....n with their own Creatures, and to exclude the poor declining C......h, and its Friends, from all manner of Access to her.

'That if while the C.......t was entirely in the Church Inte'rest, and both Houses of Parliament concurr'd with it in ha'ving the Laws rigorously put in Execution on its side, the Fa'naticks encreas'd and multiplied upon us, we have Reason to
'be apprehensive of a much greater encrease, when all our
'strength is reduc'd to a Remnant, when 17 of those Heroick
'Prelates that gave Life and Vigour to the Church, are Dead,
'and succeeded for the generality by Men of more Moderate
'Principles, who out of Complaisance to some M......rs, have
'lest it, the only Protestant Community not secur'd by
'Law.

'That the Church's humble Petition to the Bishops, is, that they would encourage the Lower Clergy to exert themselves in defence of that Church from which they receive their Bread, and instruct their Congregations in the Nature of true Mode-ration, not that which is between Luke-warmness in Religion, and indifference in every thing that relates to the Service of God. That they would admonish them to remonstrate to them the Scandal and Sin of Occasional Conformity, and the Heinousness of dissembling with God in so solemn an Act of Devotion as approaching the Lord's Table, and that they be excited and stirr'd up to Vindicate those worthy Patriots in both Houses (especially the House of Commons) who are aspers'd for their just Endeavours to settle and secure the Church and Civil State, more especially at this time, maliciously misrepresented by the Enemies of both.

That there are three Ways in which the Dissenters have receded from us, viz. Dostrine, Discipline, and Worship, and they will not close with us, or come into a Comprehension, which some of our moderate Men are for, unless we grant them these three Points, that if the Protestant Dissenters, as it is generally handed about, agree with us in all the main and fundamental Points of the Christian Faith, and differ from us in Trisses and Points not Essential, they had no Reason

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of separate from us, and can't excide themselves from the guilt of a obstinate and unreasonable Schism, if they do not immediately return into the Bosom of the Church, who, provided this be all the ground of their Separation, is ready with open Arms to receive them.

Scotland, by Preaching or Argument, in Discourse or Writing, to defend Episcopacy, are not like to be very Indulgent to it here, when ever they shall have it in their power to be Severe; and the whole Nation know's the time, when the Saints shall inherit the Land, was thought Law sufficient to give a Sett of Men who Sainted themselves, a Title to the Lands and Possessions of the Wicked and Malignant, which

which was every Man whose Estate they coveted.

That Dominion is founded in Gracelis a Tener that introduces tyrannical Usurpations, and makes Enthaliasts and Hypocrites, and that Episcopacy is not to be Moderated to the Dissenters. Taste, since Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is strain'd by them far above above the Practice of the Church, and Synodical Popery is the Foundation of Presbytery. That the Independents carry the Authority of every individual Priest, higher than the Presbyteriums, and every Pastor is Arch-Bishop of his Congregation; that there is no Appeal from his Infallible Judica-And the difference between the two Sects is, that the first has but one Pope in each Nation, which is the Synod, and the several Ministers of which it is composed, are but so many Limbs of Anti-christ. Whereas, the last has a little Pope in every Congregation, and every individual Preacher among them is a whole Petty Anti-christ himself.

That no terms of Comprehension are offer'd by the Differences, and that by which soever way, either the Dissenters coming over to the Church, or the Church to them, a Coalition should be effected; the proper Name for it would be Conversion, not Comprehension. That the Discipline of the Differences is Arbitrary and Unlimited, and the most Reasonable of them, have always set themselves above Laws, by pretending that the Sentencing and Correction of Sinners without D

limitation of Kind, either of Sin or Punishment, belong'd to them as Ministers of Christ, by which unbounded Privileges they obtain'd an absolute Sovereignty over all Ranks and

Conditions of Men, which is a Note above Ela, and a Strain

beyond Popery.

That the Brethren of the Church of England, that pretend to more Moderation than the rest, ought to consider whither the defigns of these Separatists tend, and whither they can follow them through all the fenfeles Mazes of Enthusiasm, since if they ftir a step out of the direct Paths of the Church, their least Devotion after them will be call'd a Conviction. That the Diffenters ought to flate their Demands, and give us demonstration, that it is neither an Illusion, as the Savoy Conference about such an Union soon after the Restoration, was, nor the prefumption of private Persons, without the Authoty of the Body in General, which they retain.

That the Church is complyant in her Offers to them, and in her incomparable Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer.

speaks of them in this manner; Let them therefore shew to the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, and those that are in Au-

thority, what Alterations they defire, and the evident necessity or expediency of fuch Alterations, and no doubt but they will meet

with a cheerful Complyance with them.

'That the Church does not Persecute the Diffenters, nor defire that they ever should be Persecuted; that they have 6 bound up their Hands from doing that to which their Hearts 4 are as averse as the most Moderate of them all, and have s perpetuated the Toleration to the Dissenters, and are ready to join it at any time to what farther Security they shall ask for themselves. Wherefore the Moderate Men are challeng'd to Explain their Meaning, what fort of Moderation they ask, otherwise the Members of the Church of England will have just reason to suspect, that they have confederated with their Enemies, and are in a Plot against us, as in effect we see they are, by the Opposition, which, in conjunction with them, they make to us on all Occasions. ey make to the character of hare garana and said said paid. That

That their Clamour is Marter enough to provide our felves with Caution against them, while they press us every Session of Parliament with their Apprehension of the Papists, who tho' our Enemies, are inconsiderable for Number with the Fanaticks, who are equally inveterate Enemies of the Church; and more of Monarchical Government; and that the Arming of Scotland, our Enemies by ancient Aversion, and with whom our English Fanaticks have more than once Joyn'd, gives us but two lively an appehension of our present Condition.

That our only Hope at present is in the Queen and the next Parliament, and that if the Ministers should Misinform or Missead the Q-n, as Ministers have sometimes the Opportunity of doing, by very Wife Princes, the Queen might want the Power, when the had the Will, to rectify these Abuses. That suppose we should have a Parliament to our Desires, we could not be affur'd but we should have one three Years after, that might make fale of our Liberties, fince if the Sting of Impeachments be suffer'd to be taken away, the People must be the Sheep, the Asses (or what they please to make of them) of Great Men, and they may Fleece, Ride and Slay us, with-

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out being call'd to an Account. 'That false Returns and the Rights of Elections, are to be Judg'd by the House of Commons, and that they cannot determine concerning the Election, without judging Sovereign-' ly concerning the Right of the Electors. That the Dueness of an Election follows the Right of the Electors, and by the fame Method that two may be torc'd upon them two bundred may, or indeed 513. That upon Refusals, to take undue Polls, if the Mayor or Magistrates concern'd to take Votes, ' should have Actions brought against them, and they Cast the · Plaintiff, the Law does not give sufficient Damages in such Suits, for no Man is to be Oppress'd ultra Tenementum; and fo the Fellow that occasions the Vexatious Suit, goes Unpu-' nish'd, and he that has done his Duty, has his Charges for his Pains, works to saldistinos out vo salav mes by and ad in the House or Commons, and no where elie, and that

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Men to all Officers taking the Poll at Elections, who may be deterr'd thereby from executing their Trusts as the Law directs, and that Freedom it self is impair'd by such Usurpations. That Privileges are the remains and the only Pledges of Natural and Civil Liberty, and that the Body to which they appertain, are and can only be the Keepers or Judges of them, for when sever they shall trust the Keeping or Judgment of them to any others, they cease to be the Reposition of them.

That had this been rightly confidered, the Dispute would have been shortened last Session of Parliament, between the Lords and Commons, and put an end to the senseless Clamours of some bawling Fellows, that made a Villanous Noise about it. For to Judge solely and Sovereignly of all Matners touching Elections for Members to serve in Parliament, appears indisputably to be the Privilege of the House of Commons, as well by the Consession of the House of L—ds themselves in this very Dispute, as from the Nature of such Privileges; and if that be a Privilege of the House of Commons, they and only they ought to Judge when it is Broken.

That Privileges only receive Limitations from those that give them Being, and that they could not be derived from their Lordships Concessions, since they were antecedent to the Lords themselves, who are the Creatures of them that own'd these Privileges. That some Privileges are provided for by Law, and others not, and that these of Parliament were not so much taken care of, because they were thought more Disputable than any of the rest; but they were express'd in an Act, that Mayors, Sheriss, Bailiss, Constables, who are usually no very nice judges of Brivileges of Parliament, might exactly know their Duty, and presume no farther.

'That the only Remedy for the Appellants, if they had been deny'd their Votes by the Constables of Ailsbury, was to be had in the House of Commons, and no where else; and that their

their pretending to Appeal to the House of Lords for Damages, look'd as if either they had put those Votes to Sale, or the Purchaser came upon them to refund the Mony paid down for them. That the Consequences of the Ailsbury Attempt, would have been the subjecting the House of Commons that is Co-ordinate to them, to the House of Lords, had they not stopp'd its career by a Commitment.

That the present Maxims and Practices of the Whigs are contradictory to their Former; and that the Modernists are such base Recreants, as to recant all their old Principles, and condemn all that their Predecessors or themselves have done for these three or sourscore Years (not excepting what was Justifiable, and their strict Duty) to set up their New Patrons. That Right supposes Law and Power to defend it, and that the Commons in Parliament Assembled, would have no ability to defend the Right of those that are Represented by them, unless they have power to punish any Invasions upon them, and open Affronts to their Authority.

That the Excellency of our Constitution consists in its being a limited mix'd Monarchy, wherein Stated Rules of Government are contriv'd by the People, and receive their Sanction from the King, who having the Executive Power, acts by his Ministry, who upon any Misgovernment are Responsible to the People, and punishable for exceeding their Commission given them by Law, and that the Commons are one of the three Estates, and their Rights neither precarious nor dependant on any other.

That the Distinction of the Lords at the Conference, between the Merits of the Election, and the Rights of the Electors,
was without Disserence, and that the Right of any Commoner
qua Elector, is upon no pretence what soever subject to the Judgment of the Lords, or the Crown. That there lies no danger of Oppression from this Power of the Commons, but
they are fitted for that Power beyond the Lords for Three
feveral

feveral Reasons; 1. Because they are but Commoners, and themselves lyable to the same Hardships they shall institute on others, which the Lords are not. 2. They derive their Authority from the People's Choice, which must lay obligations upon them to be very tender of their Interest. 3. That this Authority is but of short Duration, three Years at most, and their Elections Precarious, which obliges them to behave themselves with abundance of Circumspection and Deserence to their Electors.

That the Commons are bound in Duty to commit Infults upon their Rights and Authority, and that their forbearance in the first Attack of Asbby was a fault that drew after it the rest, and is scarce sufficiently repair'd by their Conduct and Vigilance since. That the Commitment of the Five Ailsbury Men by the House of Commons, being in execution of their Sentence for Punishment, not Tryal, there was no pretence for a Habeas Corpus, much less Writ of Error, and that God would give our next Representatives Courage, Wisdom to preserve the Church and the Crown.

'That the Moderation, Reasonableness and Necessity of the Bill for the Preventing Occasional Conformity, was what solely occasion'd the attempt at the Tack; and that the Bills being receiv'd with such difficulty by the L—, who did not observe Measures barely Decent with them, but slung it out of Doors several times, with divers scornful Speeches, both resteding on the Bill, and those that sent it up, made them desipair, that those who had Insulted them in so open a manner, would ever be brought to hear any thing more upon that Head, wherefore they resolved to tack it the Land-Tax Aid, in hopes that those who chiefly obstructed the Passing of it, would rather recede from their secret Designs, than hazard the losing or retarding that Supply.

Operation that the force of the Commons, will

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That the Clamour upon these Proceedings is unaccountable and unreasonable, the not adverted upon by some in Authority, under whose Noses these Villainous Slanders are Printed and Publish'd almost daily, and that the Arguments against the Tackers are of two sorts, (viz.) against the Bill it self, and the Right of Tacking in General; the last of which they say is very rare, and would take away from the Lords, the Right of Deliberating on any Bill.

That, in Answer to these Objections, the Practice of Tacking is as Old as the Commons giving of Mony, for if in Antient Times the Generosity of Kings, and the simple Honesty of the People did incline them to take the Prince's Word for Redress of their Grievances, and in case of pressing necessity to give their Mony sirst, yet this was as express Tack, as if the Sum given had been, and Conditions upon which it was given, had been express'd in the same Parchment. That our Ancestors found reason very early to be more cautious upon what Terms they parted with their Money, and to take care that how many Bills soever they pass'd the Mony Bills should always be the last, and remain as a Security for the Rest.

That they that will take the Pains to search our Histories and Records impartially, will find that our Ancestors have from time to time, even beyond our Tracing, been possess of the Right of Tacking, or a sufficient equivolent and free giving implies Power of doing it with or without Condition. That if the House of Commons are to be limited and circumscrib'd in the Conditions, and yet be oblig'd to give, they are no longer Givers but Assessor, who have nothing to do but to measure out and proportion, and that whenever this Point is gain'd upon them either by the Crown or Lords, the People are brought that very Moment under a Tyranny.

That the Objection against the Right of Deliberating is of no Force, since the Case of Mony Bills, the Lords have no Right to deliberate upon any Thing concerning them, but when

whether they will accept Money upon the Terms it is offer'd or not, and that whether they would have accepted the Land Tax with the Occasional Bill Tack'd to it, is more than any one, not even themselves can tell, since it never came up to them, to be put to the Vote.

That the Bill against Occasional Conformity as it was then worded had been alter'd to the very Terms on which the Lords had consented to it, and that the matter of the Deliberation concerning the substance of the Occasional Conformity Bill had long been over when the attempt to Tack it was made, and the only Question that remain'd undecided was, Whether the Commons should lose a Bill that had been so often by themselves judg'd necessary, and part with an undoubted Right for the Ane of a Resolution sound on the Books. of the House of Lords or not.

That Consequences are only imputable to those that are in the wrong, and that since the Lords are bound to receive or reject all Mony Bills entire, with all their Clauses there can be no Tack upon the Crown, which is not equally a Tack upon the Lords. That those that slight our Apprehensions for the Cause of the Establish'd Church are to be suspected, and that they would do well to obviate our Objections and remove those Fears by undeniable Grounds for their own Considence, or by proposing some sufficient equivolent to what has been thought so necessary for its Security.

That the Scotch Act of Security is one Ground sufficient for our Apprehension, and that this is not a Time for the Church or Nation to be strip'd of the Assistance and Protection of such Friends and Faithful Servants to the Queen, as the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, Jersey, Winchelsea, Dysert, the Lords Guilford, Granvill, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir George Rooke, &c. when Thirty Thousand Scots which the lowest Calculations make them Enemies to our Church, Discipline, and Worship, are Arm'd, Regimented and Disciplin'd, in our very Neighbourhood.

That both Lords and Commons jointly concurr'd in the " Danger of this Armament, by the late Act of Security; and " that it is not to be doubted, when they meet next, they will " agree to enquire who among us advis'd it. That it behoves " us to consider what remains yet for us to do to divert the "Storm, fince, befides our Supplications as pious Christians, " there is fomething incumbent on us as a prudent People; and " that if we have any among us, that are fond, or Favourers of " the Scotch Kirk-Discipline, it will be a more dangerous Expe-" riment than has been made above these forty Years, to trust " them with the Civil Power.

" That the Defign of the late House of Commons may be " feen by the Self-denying Bill, and that it is an inconceivable "Stupidity to accuse or suspect those of monopolizing Places, " who would voluntarily disable themselves by holding any, " from a Self-denying Bill. That in Order to consult the true "Interest of the Queen, the Maintenance of our Constitution. " the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights of the " People, and the future Peace and Quiet of the whole Nation. "it is hop'd the People would recommend to their new Repre-" fentatives the Care of the Occasional Conformity, and Self-de-" nying Bills, and the Protection of their Priviledges, which " are the Peoples own, and their fole Pledges of Liberty; and " that this done, the Queen would be faithfully fero'd, the "People rightly represented, Religion would flourist, Trade revive, our Arms prosper, and our Confederates be reliev'd; " which the Author begs God to grant, and long preserve " the QUEEN.

Thus much for the MEMORIAL, that calls down for fuch heavy Judgments, not only on the Author, or Authors of it, but on the whole High Church in general, which are all such as pay an exact Obedience to what is enjoin'd by the Rubrick, and thew their Compliance with Ordinances and Acts of Parliament; and for which every true English Subject is folicited (vid. Review, Aug. 7.) to lay Hands on them as Ruffians, and tear them in Pieces. This is the Opinion of the Differers, by the Mouth of their Hireling-Scribe, and this is the Usuage we are to exped from them, when ever they shall have Authority enough to put it in Practice. What Precautions then are not to be laid liold of, by way of Anticipation? What Measures not to be taken against such insolent invitations to deprive us not only of our Liberties and Immunities, but our Lives, and, what is more dear to us than Life it self, the Exercise of our holy Re-

ligion, as by Law established?

This is what the People of England are excited, as one Man, immediately to take Arms for e. 1. To execute immediate Vengeance on all the High Church-men in the Nation, as the People who had told them before-hand, they design d to do what now they find them attempting. 2. To prevent the immediate Consequences of their wicked Design, and to RE-ESTABLISH the LAW-FUL Authority of the Nation upon the JUST Foundation of the

Constitution, (Review, Aug. 9.) This will have been of

To come up to my Promise, and produce the Remarks, which I refer'd the Reader to in the Close of this Head, it is wholly necessary, that I repeat what is pretended to give Offence, and exasperate these Men of PEACE and MODERATION into such a turbulent and violent Disposition, that nothing can appease their Lust of Vengeance but MURTHER and ASSASSINATION. Though the Principles of the Church of Emgland, says the Memorial, will dispose Men to bear a great deal, he's a mad Man that tries how much; for when Men are provok'd, NATURE is very apt to rebel against PRINCIPLE, and then the Odds are wast on Nature's side: For the Church ramot be wrought up to REBELLION, yet they may be alarm'd so, as to secure themselves at the Peril of those M—rs who give them the Alarm.

And what of all this? I am at a Loss to find out the Treasonable Expressions that are said to be contained in this inossensive Sentence. Here is nothing, but the Principles of the Church of England dispose its Members to bear a great deal; which is but too true, God knows, since it has born with all the Insolencies could be thought of to work us up to another Temper, in the bitter Invectives daily set abroach to withdraw the People from its Communion. That a Man may be exceeding pailive, and

yet not bear every thing, fince it is dangerous to try how much even the strictest Patience can undergo; and that when Men are provok'd fo as to be reduc'd to the last Extremity, Nature is apt to get the better of their Principles, which has great Odds on its fide, while Reason is depress'd and weaken'd with long fuffering. That though the Doctrines of the Church of England will not fuffer its Members to alienate their Allegiance from their rightful and lawful Prince, or recede from the strict Observance of their Duties though we cannot be wrought up by the feverest Hardships, even to so much as a rebellious Thought against our Sovereign, yet we may take Alarm on Account of any Encroachment upon our Rights and Privileges from any Quarter, and secure our selves at the Expence of an evil Ministry. Which is so far from bearing any Resemblance of Rebellion, that we are answerable for all the Mischiefs shall befal this Age, or those that are to come; and Posterity will have Reason to curse us, should we be so remis in the Preservation of what we are entrusted with, as not to transmit them those Liberties entire and undiminish'd, in the same State as we received them from our Ancestors.

Not that I would be understood here to point at the present Miry. Our Successes abroad, and our Management at home. are such convincing Proofs of their Abilities, that no Grounds of Complaint appear to reproach them in the Exercise of that Power Her Majesty has invested them with: But fince evil Ministers have been; and what has been, may be again, I cannot but think it my Duty to affirm, that Impeachments of Offenders in Church and State, belong to the Commons of England; and we may bring these, upon any just Cause, against the greatest Subject of the Realm, without incurring the Censure of Rebellion; for Treason against the Ministry, was never introduced till in these Days: 36 , who and to deruit out to sto that done

That the King can do no Wrong, is a Maxim of receiv'd Authority; but that it includes the great Officers of any Prince, I can never be induc'd to agree. It's as dangerous to a Prince to have burtful and bateful Officers in eminent Places, as to be burtful and bateful to bimself, (fays Trussel, in Vita Rich. 2.) And if we have a due Regard for our Sovereign, the only Way to shew it, is by solliciting the Removal of such, as may be of ill Consequence to him or his People, and to secure him and our selves, at the Peril of that M—try; which, if not inadverted

upon, would be perilous to us.

But this is depasing the Ministry by Force, (fays the same Author of the Review) which can never be done, but by captivating the Queen, and so obliging Her Majesty to do what they please, or by something worse, and too terrible to name. Alas for his Understanding! Has it not been the Practice of our Parliaments to make Application to the Throne, Time out of Mind, upon all momentous Milmanagements in great Officers of State? Have not our Kings and Queens, by the ancient Usuage of the Commons of England, been address'd to remove them from their Presence and Councils for ever, without any evil Consequences of these Addresses, without captivating their Severeign, or decollating bim; which is a Practice only known to Men of his own Party, and familiar to them by past Experience? Has any such Removal been of any Tendency this Way yet, except their barbarous Arraignment, and Murther of the Earl of Stafford, in King Charles the First's Time, whose Death was follow'd by the Martyrdom of his Lord and Master? And why could not a Whig-M-try (if such there were) be as gently laid aside, as a Church of England one has been said to be? No doubt of it; and should we be so unhappy (which Heavens avert) as to have an A- B- fide with the Differers against the Church oftablish'd, a Favourite L-y make Sale of Offices and Places of Truft, or an L .- T - blow hot and cold at the same time; and fatten himself and his Adherents with the publick Spoils, which is next to an Impossibility, while the Persons concern'd in the Administration continue in their Places there are not wanting fuch Patriots of the Church of England, as would exert themselves for the Good of the present Establishment; and whatever Discouragements they have met with in the like Cases sometime fince, would take the same Measures for their Punishment, as have not been without Effect in former Ages, and may be successful in this and the Tours the state of lucional beautiful and the To (37)

To conclude, if the Queen is neither abused in her Person, nor bullied, threaten'd, nor infulted in her Authority; if the is own'd to be the most gracious of Princes, and most affectionate to the Church establish'd; if the MEMORIAL is only apprehensive of Endeavours set a-foot to estrange her from the putting in Practice those indulgent and Motherly Promises she has made the Church, we are to pass the most favourable Construction we can on the Author's Concern for Her Majesty's Honour, and the Church's Interest. Fealousy is nothing else but the Effect of a violent Love; and the Suspicions are entertain'd in the aforefaid Pamphlet, may be reasonably said to proceed from the same Cause, since they are express in such dutiful Terms, and will be attended, if there are any Grounds for

them, with fuch fatal Confequences.

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The wifest of Counsellors may take wrong Measures, and the best of Princes may be ill advised, since Infallibility has been a Stranger to the Crown and Cabinet, and they have thrown off the Superstition of a Worship that was the greatest Argument of their failing. Quid amnia Possidentibus deest? fays Seneca, in Lib. 6. de Beneficiis, Ille qui Verum dicat : What does be want, that has all the Affluence of the World in his Possession? Marry. one that will dare to tell him the Truth. And if Encroachments have been made upon the Privileges of the Church, through the Designs of some, and Male-Administrations have crept into the State, through the Artifices of others, Where lyes the Crime of a civil Remonstrance? or, how can it be imputed as a Wickedness to fuch as petition, in a regular Way, for a Redress of these Grievances.

Majesty cannot be address'd otherwise, through the Intervention of some Persons, that intercept the Royal Beams, and keep them from shedding their benign Influence on such as stand. in need of them, than by this Paper-Conveyance; wherefore omitting some Things, which favour rather of Inadvertency than Design, some Mistakes in Point of Civility, and other Accidents, that will happen to Pens that are exasperated, and inflam'd by a supposed ill Treatment, I must take the Liberty to declare, that it's beyond the Confines of my Penetration to find out, (38)

out, or assign the Cause of the Distaste has been taken against this Pamphlet, which seems to be singled out for the G-ts Displeasure, when so loud and he inous Affronts have call'd for their Resentments from another Parry, who say, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace; and cover their Intemperance of Disassection to the Church, and the Monarchy, with the Cloak of MODER ATION. Which brings me to my third and last Enquiry; which is, Whether if it be not so criminal as it is represented, something of the Rigour that is used towards the Persons

supposed to be concerned in it, might not be abated?

And here it will not be foreign to my Purpose, before I enter into this Particular, to explain what I mean by the Word Rigour, and whom I apply it to; since otherwise I may be accused of charging the Government with Severity, and have Things that I know not laid to my Charge. The Reader therefore is to understand by it, the SEVERITT of such Incendiaries, who wrest the Text into their own Signification, and torture it with such unchristian and unfriendly Comments, as to make that which was written only in Defence of the Church, tend altogether to the Dissenters Destruction, and raise the Mobupon Men of Quality and Honour, whose Benefactions to the Publick call for other Requitals, than Looing the Scum of the Creation upon them, which when the Nation boils, and is in a Ferment, will always be uppermost:

To see the Government lampoon d, the Queen borribly slander'd, and the Ministry threaten'd, are strange provoking Things; and were these Things true, could I possibly have the same Sense of them, as the Gentlemen who make it their Business to magnise Matters, and transform petit Mistakes into overt Acts of High Treason, doubtless I should make use of the same Severities, and conclude the Persons concern'd in this unshappy Pamphlet Criminal; but when I can deduce Observations from nothing through the whole Run of it, but what is Honey to the Myrrb, and Alaes of those bitter Investives that come from the dissenting Party, I cannot but imagine the Town has been dreaming all the while; and that either no Notice has been taken by Way of Resentment of the MEMORIAL, or that the DYET

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DYET OF POLAND, and the Weekly Papers which the Press

abounds with, has been Animadverted upon with it.

The Justice of the Nation requires it, the regard should be had from a Successor to his Predecessor's Reputation, is an urgent Inducement for it, and the Disrespect shewn to the most illustrious Men the Nation is honour'd with, strenously demands it; neither is it to be supposed some Gentlemen at the Helm of Affairs would have made no Enquiry after the Author, Bookseller, and Publisher of the last, since they cannot be said to be backward in their Proceedings against the first.

But, fay the Diffenters, what Relation have the Transactions of Poland to us? The Book was Printed at Dantzick, look on the Title Page elfe, and believe your own Eyes. Our M---s of St-and Courts of Judicature have nothing to do with what is done in an independent Kingdom! This we are willing to grant; but suppose this Libel could be prov'd (as some Persons know it can) to be Printed in Bartholomew Close; to be difpers'd fecretly and clandestinely by such and such Parties; to be left at particular Coffee Houses and Taverns, in short, to be shewn about publickly, and the Meaning of it explain'd, for some Months before it was publish'd, by the Author of it; the leveral Characters fixt upon the several Great Men the Satyr of it is pointed at, and all this done in the Face of Authority, even at the very time this impious Memorial was handed about. What Reason can the Diffenters give for being to very barlb in their Reproaches upon the one, or their Favourers to cool in making a vindictory Inspection into the other; I was least leading with

Satyrist's Complaint, and it would be much more for the Honour of our English Nation, if while we are imitating the Examples of Old Rome, by our Conquests abroad, we copy'd not from their Vices at Home. But Resections of this Nature may be dangerous, and otherwise interpreted, that he that states the present Case, may expect, after I shall have laid down for undeniable, that the Polish-Dyet is much more intelligible and bare-sac'd than the Memorial, which has only the first Letters of Words, as L--- T---, which is given out with-

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out any Certainty for the Lord Treasurer, as Pinski for the Earl of Nottingham, whose Name is Finch, Buckski, for the Duke of Buckingham, &c. My Intent is by the way of Comparison, to make an Estimate of the two Performances, and leave the Reader to judge which is most Oriminal, and calls for a Nation's Resentment, one that exposes the best Men in the Kingdom, for Titles, Wisdom, and Estate in Bear Skins, like a certain Tyrant, to be worried by the Bear Dogs of the Faction, or one that seems to have a Sense of Grievances, yet is endued with the Spirit of Resignation so much as to make use of no Expressions, that bear the Face of Scurrility, or ill Manners.

To begin with the Memorial, who speaking of the Q-n, fays, these of the Church that know the Piety and Tenderness of the Q-n for all her People, and her Goodness and Inclination to Charity, as well as her special Zeal for the Church of England, &c. Are we very fure that those who ill-treated, and bespatter'd the Princess, and bop'd that she never should Reign; are grown fincerely fond of the Queen, and heartily glad that the does Reign? That the Queen is really well, and zealoufly principled and intentioned towards the Church, (which he firmly believes, and is fatisfied in) and would readily concur in any thing just and seasonable for its Service and Security. This they could never hope for so favourable an Opportunity of doing (meaning the making the Occasional Bill into an Act) as is in the Reign of a Queen, who so well understands, and loves our Constitution Ecclefiastical and Civil, that as before among our Princes she bas no Equal: So it is to be fear'd, that after her may arise none like her. For these Evils so much to be fear'd, we have little bopes, but from the affur'd Goodness and Affection of the Queen for ber Church, &c.

This is what the fanctified Review calls Affaulting the Queen. In the next Place, it may not be amis to recapitulate the Scoundrel Treatment her Ministers receive at the Hands of this devoted Author. And here I shall only take notice of those whose Names seem to be express'd by the first Letters of them, though I cannot be affur'd that these are design'd at.

It is burdeto affign any plausible Reason for this Conduct of the L. T. for it is fearee credible, that one who has the Reputation of a comming Many &c. Thus it's believed L -- T -- and D- and De of M- received the first Warp, at least it is more Honorable to lay the Fault there, and suppose them abus'd, than to think they left the Caufe. They did concur with the Queen in acknowledging the D- of M-'s good Services (viz. the Houfe of Commons) even when they had refus'd the Grant of 5000/. per Annum propos'd by her Majesty, and have fince in a special Manner recommended to ber bis late great Services. But the T -- is Wife, let bim therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who is to be provok'd at this Juncture. But it is whisper'd among us, (as fo great a Secret ought to be) that the L- T-in his Heart does not care a Farthing for the Fanaticks and Whips. (which we believe) That he is at the bottom a fast Friend to the Chach, and has Designs very much to the Advantage of it. (which we crave leave to doubt) if the Ch-ch would have Patience, and wait the proper Time for the Execution of them? Tis probable the Influence of our T- may not make Whigs for faft, but it debauches great Numbers. S-nd-nd, mbofe Sobemes they are suspected to follow, found them once too hand for bim; and bis Mafter, for all his Indulgence to them, (meaning the Whigs) met with very ungrateful Returns. The Tmay please bimself with a Dream of Rower and Popularity, and fancy himself some mighty M--b when he sees his Levees crouded and balf a bundred Gentlemen waiting his Orders, and watching bis Nods, but 'tis his Staff they follow, not him; if his Foatman bore it, they would all be as obsequiously at his Heels.

This is all that relates to the L.— T.—, or the rest, who have any Nominal Letters to point them out, except the L.—
S.—nd, Who—, S.—drs, and H.—x, who are charg'd with fuch Crimes as the Author, as well as he that has given the World a Survey of them, might have spar'd the Mention of, and this might have suffer'd a very great Castration, had the Person that pen'd it, been as cautious as the Noble P.—r, whom it is the receiv'd Opinion it is penn'd against, is Wife. But as I am not answerable for other Mens madvertencies, so it is none of my Business

Business to point them out. What I have to do, is to go on with the other Branch that makes and compleats the Comparison; and, without any Retrospect to the Abuses the Church has received, lay down what the Poet is to be charged with, as to his making bold with the Names and Characters of the Patriots, who fall under the Displeasure of his Pen, and are arraign'd at his Tribunal, after having dismissed the Gentleman of Prose a while, to take an Insight into that of Verse.

And here the Reader will find him not only prodigal of his Parnassian Dung, which he is the redoubted Scavenger of, upon Gentlemen of the most illustrious Names, Reputations, and Estates in Her Majesty's Dominions; but even to assault the Queen her self, by way of Simile, whom he represents by the Name of King Augustus of Poland: A Prince, whom every one knows to have abjur'd the Religion he has been bred up in for a Crown; and whose want of Success and daily Turmoils, in Opposition to sactious Subjects, bear no manner of Proportion to

Her Majesty's triumphant and auspicious Reign.

The Earl of Nottingham is impertinent, proud, and dull with him; Nonsense divides his Hours, and he's emptily prosound, and charg'd with giving Passes, while Secretary of State to French Emissaries; said to be a Quacking, Mountehanking Tool of State, and call'd a downright KNAVE in the Close of his Character. The Earl of Rochester, the Queen's Uncle, (I take them in the Order as he gives them the Reader) is tax'd with Oppression in his Office of Lord High Treasurer, and double Dealing, in having a Janus Face, with Crimes too black to be reveal'd, and even with Attempts to murther the King his Master; for what else can be meant by it, When the salse Peer his Master's Fate pursued.

Sir Edward Seymour is traduc'd with being bred up to Fraud and Feud, proud, peevish, insolent, and base, with being a Betrayer of his Trust, a Cheat, nay, a Rogue in Grain; is charg'd with having Brass sitting upon his Testy Brows, that are harden'd with broken Voices, Bribes, and Frauds, with loving the Villainies of Life, with coveting Mischief more than Fame, with

being a mad Man, abjectly wretched, a Bully, &c.

Sir George Rook stands indebted to him, for being made to destroy many Millions of Money in fruitless Expeditions, for loving to make a tedious Voyage in vain, for betraying and selling his Country, for being covetous and insolent, a negative Soldier, one that would seldom fight; and to crown all, for shewing himself a Knave and a Coward. The Lord Grandvil stands accused of being a May-Fair and Hockley in the Hole Frequenter, the Mob's Captain Tom, Patron to the Whores, Bears, and Prize-

Fighters, &c.

The Lord Guernsey lies under Sentence of Condemnation, in his Satyr, for want of Sense, for having his Voice a Pun upon his Name, which is FINCH, and for his being descended from a wheedling Race, and promoted and advanced to the Dignity of a Lord by the Queen, that he might do no Harm, who had done no Good. But above all, the Duke of Bucking-ham's Obligations to him, are the greatest for calling him a stalking, sharping Peer, a Whore-master, Gamester, Sycophant, and a prophane Swearer, who carries a Disease about him, that makes him love the Whore he can't please, and be leud and impotent at the same time; and for pointing him out in a particular Manner to the Reader, by describing his House, and the Motto's which are inscrib'd upon it.

He goes on to characterize the good Earl of Jersey, whom he afferts to be conscious of his Crimes, relating to King William, and Betrayer of him, when this Noble Peer was one of the Committee that vindicated his Memory, on Account of Papers being found in that King's Closet. To conclude, neither the greatest of the Nobility or Gentry have escap'd him in both Houses of Parliament; and since he has been more than ordinarily free with the Debates of the Commons, 'tis not to be doubted, but Sir Humphry Mackworth, Mr. Bromely, Sir John Packington, Mr. Toke, Sir Thomas Meers, Mr. Ward, Mr. Annesty, Sir Thomas Powys, &c. will do themselves, and their injur'd.

Reputations Justice in the ensuing Parliament.

Thus have I drawn a Parallell, that in all rational Opinions must tend to the Advantage of the Memorial; which neither abounds with so much Filth of Expression, as the Satyrical Po-

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Defign. Not that the Faults of the one are an Argument of the Innocence of the other; or, that because the Polish Dyet is unmannerly, the Memorial may not lye under the same Imputation, since the Wisdom of our Superiours will have it so; but it may alleviate from the Guilt of the Church-Party, to consider what a Malignity of Spleen and ill Breeding that of the Dissenters has contracted.

But the Reader may question my Concerns with another Book, while I have enough on my Hands to clear up in the Case of the Pamphlet, which I only undertook to make my Comments upon; wherefore I shall apply my self to consider what Breach of the Law the Memorialist has been guilty of; for there must be a Breach of the Law, or there can be no lawful Animadversion upon him; for where there is no Law, there can

be no Transgression.

It stands charg'd with being a Libel against the Government, a defamatory and unfeasonable Clamour against Her Majesty and Her Ministry, and a rude and infolent Attempt to fet People together by the Bars about the hurch's Danger, when there is no Profpect of any thing like it. Every Branch of which Charge has been already spoken to, and the Rudeness, Insolence, and Unseasonableness shewn, since all Hopes of securing the Church rest themselves upon the Queen's single Life. Now, that Libels are Things heinous in the very Nature of them, and pernicious in their Delign, must be acknowledged; and if it be against a Magistrate, or another publick Person, occasions a much greater Offence, than if against one that is private, because it concerns not only the Breach of the Peace, but also the Scandal of Government: For what greater Reproach can be laid upon a Government, than to have wicked and corrupt Magistrates appointed by the Sovereign for the Administration of Affairs? And what casts a more odious Reflection upon the State, than to fuffer Men of defigning and unjust Principles to fit at the Helm, and direct at the Steerage, where none but Gentlemen of affectionate Zeal to the Well-being of their Queen and Country, should preside? See Coke in 5th Report. Libellus Libellus Famosus, a Famous Libel, is, where a Man hath of MALITIOUS purpose, writ, compounded, or set out any thing to the INFAMY of another, without a Name, or with a Name, says Ridley in his View of both Laws, the Lord Coke in his 5th Report, de Libellis Famosis, Fol. 125; and it would not be improper for the Inquisitive to consult B. Lamb's Case, Cod. Lib. 9. Fol. 59. Swinburn 2d Part, Numb. 19. Cod. 9. 36. Lex Unica, &c. and the Punishment of a Libeller, is by way of Indictment. Now, the Question lies here, whether this ME-MORIAL was written to a malicious Purpose, or has taken away any Man or Woman's good Name from them, so as to render them endamag'd, and Sufferers thereby; for where there is no Loss, the Law gives no Damage, and it being own'd by the Dissenting Party, that this has rather strengthen'd their Cause, than lessen'd it in the good Opinion of the World,

it cannot be faid to be of any Detriment to them.

In Cogitatione tua ne detrabas Regi, nec in Secreto Cubiculi tri Diviti Maledices, quia Volucres Cali portabunt Vocem tuam. & qui babet Pennas anninciabit Sententiam: Curse not the King, no not in thy Thought; and Curfe not the Rich in thy Bed-chamber: For the Birds of the Air shall carry the Voice. and that which hath Wings, shall tell the Matter, Ecclesiastes 10. v. 20. Adversus me loquebantur qui sedebant in Porta, & in me pfallebant qui bibebant Vinum. They that fate in the Gate, Spoke against me; and those that drank Wine, made Songs against me, Psalm 69. 12. Filii Stultorum & Ignobilium, & in Terra penitus non Parentes; nunc in Eorum Canticum Versus sum. & factus eis in Proverbium: They were Children of Fools. yea, Children of base Men; they were viler than the Earth, and now am I their Song, yea, am I their by Word, 70b 30.8. 9. This was the Injunction from the wifest of Preachers, and these were the Complaints made by the Man after God's own Heart, and the greatest Example of Patience the Scriptures afford us, next to that of our Saviour and his Bleffed Apostles; and it is but requisite, but such as despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, and who speak Evil of those things which they know not, Murmurers, Complainers, walking after their

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own Links, &c. should be call'd to Account by the secular

Authority for fo doing.

But as the Wisdom and Prudence of our Legislature has equally provided for the Safety of the meanest Subject, with the Honour of the greatest Officer of State; and that Justice shall be administred with all due Regard to the well Being of Prince and People, by stated Rules for us to go by in our several Stations, so it has mark'd out what shall fall under the Denomination of a Treasonous Libel, Scandalum Magnatum, &c. and by several Acts of Parliament enacted and ordain'd, that no Person shall stand convicted, but upon clear and substantial Evidence.

It is not enough, that the Character bears a Resemblance to this or that Man's habitual Vices, that the Picture looks as if it was copy'd from him, but it must be the very same: Violent Presumptions are of no Force in such Inquisitions for Justice; there must be the Names of the Persons, in Vindication of whom the Indictments are brought, and the Injury it has done them produc'd in Court; and, instead of wresting a Sentence to this or that Interpretation, the Law directs it always to be interpreted in Favour of the Prisoner, where the Meaning is

doubtful and obfcure. In the Limit Tehm Walted to have and behave

This has been the Ufuage of former Ages, in Cases of the like Nature, and, it's presum'd, will be an Example for the present to go by: To which may be added, that the Press not having laid under any Restraint for some Years, and the mighty Issues that have slown from thence without Interruption, concerning the Affairs of Religion and State, may plead for its being made Use of, on Occasion of this MEMO-RIAL. Either Laws are assep, or in Force: If in Force, why so many Pamphlets, as the Press has teem'd with for ten Years past, unanimadverted upon? If assep, why such Clamours against those who cannot be guilty of a Breach of a Law, whose Date of Continuance is past, without a Revival?

In the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second, An Act for preventing Abuses in Printing Seditions, Treasonable, and Unlicens'd cens d Books and Pamphlets, and for Regulating of Printing and Printing Presses; Provided, that this Act should continue, and be in Force for two Years, to commence from the 10th of June, 1662. and no longer; had the Royal Assent. Which said Act was continued to remain in full Force, until the End of next Session of Parliament, by the Act of the 16th and 17th of Car. 2.

By the 1st of Jac. 2d Cap. 17. several Acts of Parliament were revived and continued; one of which was that of the 13th and 14th of Car. 2. Cap. 33. aforesaid; Revived and continued in Force, from the 24th of June in the Year of our Lord 1685. for the Space of seven Years, and from thence to the End of next Session of Parliament. And by the Statute of the 4th and 5th of WILLIAM and MARY, Cap. 24. The Act of the 13th and 14th of Car. 2. Cap. 33. for Regulating Printing, and Printing Presses, &c. was to be in Force, for one Year, from the 13th of February 1692. and from thence to the

End of the next Seffion.

Now, there has been no Revival nor Continuance of the 13th and 14th of Car. 2. fince the 4th and 5th of WILLIAM and MARY, so that King Charles the Second's Statute is not in Force: It is fast asleep; but may be awaken'd by the ensuing Parliament; though it would be a Sin to surmise, that the Representatives of the Nation should have no tenderer a Concern for the National Charle, than to let out the Penalties of this Law, which have been so long withheld from salling upon Transgressors of another Communion, upon Her sirst: Besides, it would look somewhat like making a Law ex post Facto; which though put in Practice in some Reigns, has been accounted too severe to be made a Precedent of for others, as the Provisions made in those

Not that the Members of the Church of England are not against the Liberty of the Press, which is of the most pernicious Consequence to Prince and People, and may prove fatal not the present Constitution, wif not timely prevented; but they have always been the first for bringing in such Bills.

Bills into Parliament, as might have suppress'd this Exorbitance long fince, had not the Whigs prevented it, by their Intercession for the Continuance of a fort of Permission to Libel the Government in both its Capacities. Ecclefiastical and Givil, and affront those Officers of State, withe Mildness of whose Administration they were uneasy under. Since their Delight is in Tempests and Hurricanes, while they invite us to Peaceable Dispositions; and, like the Great Leviathan, who forts bimfelf in the Deep, and rejoyces at the rushing of the mighty Waters, they are never at Reft, 'till all Things are put into a State of Diforder, and reduc'd into a Condition of standing in Need of their Amendments, and Corrections. For fuch as these are the Tinkers of the State. that make two Holes, under the Pretence of mending one. and inflame the Body Politick by putting the whole Mass of Blood into an undue Fermentation, while they would feem to be giving it nothing but Electuaries, and cooling Emulfions.

To fum up the whole then, and draw towards a Conclusion: If the Church of England labours under fuch Difadvantages, by the Intrusion of Dissenters into Offices and Places of Trust; that belong folely to the Members of her Communion, las give Occasion for this Memorial; if the Memorial it felf is not so Criminal as it has been, and is represented, and is for giving fuch farther Securities to the Differenters, as may fecure to them a Respetuity of their Act of Toleration; if it invites them to a pacifick Agreement in Matters of Religion, and offers to receive them into the Pale of the Church, upon the most easy Conditions; and the Contents of it, neither give Occasion for Fears and Jealousies, but what there are Grounds for from the Growth of the adverse Party, nor aim obliquely at the Prerogatives of the Crown, or the Liberties of the People, there is no Question to be made from the Mildness of our present Administration, but such Measures will be taken by the Government, as its Resentment shall fall only on the Guilty, not on the Innocent.

If a Pamphlet is obnoxious to Publick Cenfure, the Author of it, be he never so great, is liable to the Pains and Penalties

the Law shall award, for the same Laws that are made for the Poor, are made for the Rich, and of the same Coercive Restraint to each. The Punishments for Treasonable Practices, may indeed vary in the Modes of them, but in the End and Design of them, which is Death, they are of the same Essicacy, and it is not enough to say, this or that Man is above our Cognizance, when no one, not even the Queen her self (according to the Modern Acceptation) is above the Law.

Either all the Persons supposed to be concerned in the same Fact, should be Animadverted upon, or none; for a Title, whatsoever it be, no more renders any one Innocent, than the want of it does any one Guilty; and though great Birds may break through a Net, it is equally spread for them, with those of lesser Size. Their Attempts to despoil the Corn, and make it not answer the Husband-Man's Labour, are the same, and their Punishment should be so too.

But left I should be tax'd with a Knowledge of the Author, I hold my self bound to declare, I have heard of him no otherwise than from publick Report, and as common Fame has pointed him out to me; neither do I think the Commons of England are under such a Scarcity of Advocates, as to be forced to have Recourse to the House of Lords for a noble Patriot to defend them. This looks a little as if some People were at a loss where to six the Scent, but si Populus vult decipi, decipiatur, I know not how to bring them to Rights.

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi, was an old Complaint, and I am for every Man's standing upon his own Bottom, and answering for his own Faults. If this or that Nobleman has done, or written any Thing in breach of the publick Peace, or injurious to the Government, he is not to be supposed to derogate from his illustrious Blood, so as to let another suffer for it; and if this or that Commoner has contracted the same Guilt, he alone is to be responsible for

I speak this in Vindication of a certain P---r, whose Reputation malicious Tongues are too free with, and who is too familiarly dealt with by some People that are Strangers to his Proceedings, and at a loss for his true Character; otherwise they would have better Sentiments of a Gentleman of his Intrepidity, and a greater Regard to a Person of his Honour and Resolution, than to give out, that either he was accessory to what he durst not own, or permitted others to stand accused of what he durst not answer for, if he was accessory to it.

As these are idle Suggestions, so might I be thought to have too much leisure upon my Hands, should I dwell any longer upon them. Those that know the D--- of B---m, cannot be without an Assurance, that if he wrote, or was concern'd in the Memorial, there can be nothing in it that is defamatory of the Queen and Government, and that the only way to confirm and establish the Reader in the Innocence of its Contents, and that the Design of its coming abroad, was the Security of the Church and State, is for some People to continue giving out him for the Author; since to find out a Gentleman more affectionate to the true Interest of the Crown and the present Settlement, would require more Time than some Persons, who are altogether in the Interests of the opposite Party, have to bestow on any other Persuit, than that of doing Mischief.

Charon says, in his Conditions requisite for good Counsellors, "That they first must be Faithful, that is to say, in a Word, "Honest Men; for every Man that is truly Honest, is held to be most Faithful. Secondly, They must be sufficient in this Point, that is to say, skilful in the State, diversely experimented and tried, for Dissipulties, Afflictions, and excellent Lessons, and Instructions. In a Word, they must be "Wise and Prudent, indifferent Quick, and not over-sharp, for such kind of Men are too moveable; and that they may be such, it is requisite they be mature and ripe. Thirdly,

It is necessary that in proposing and giving wholesome Cour"sel, they carry themselves freely, and couragiously, with"out Flattery, Ambiguity, or Disguise, not accommodating
"their Language to the present State of the Prince, but with"out sparing the Truth, speaking that which is fit and requisite.
"And Fourthly, Constantly without yielding, varying, and
"changing at every Meeting, to please and follow the Humour,
"Pleasure, and Passion of another. Vid. Charron, L. 16. 3.
"Cap. 2. Sect. 17.

Sir Walter Raleigh likewise is very excellent and clear in his Observations about Counsellors and Ministers of State. in his Treatile call'd the Cabinet Council, Cap. 14. But aabove all Solon the Wife speaks thus of Counsellors. " That "they are not call'd to the Council-Table, to pleafe, and to " fpeak to their own liking, but to utter the Truth, and to " give the Prince good Counsel for common Safety. That " they must bring with them, for assur'd and certain Foun-"dation of their Conferences about State-Affairs, a good In-" tent mov'd with Reason and Judgment, to profit him, not with " Passions which are desirous of Vain-glory, of Covetousness, of " Emulation, of any other Imperfection that leads them to their " private Interest. That they must at the Entry of the Coun-"cil-Chamber, uncloth themselves of Favour towards some, " of Hatred towards others, and of Ambition in themselves, " and aim at no other Mark, than at the Honour of God, " and Safety of the Common-wealth. (See French Academy, " Cap. 61. of Council and of Counsellors of State.) ...

Now, that the Ministers of State, and Gentlemen lately laid aside, viz. the Duke of Bucking ham, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, and the Lords Winchessea and Grandvill, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir George Rooke, &c. were endued with these Qualifications, not even their worst Enemies that have any Sense of Abilities, but must acknowledge the Fidelity, the Skill, the Steadings, the Wisdom, the Courage, the Sincerity, the Importiolity the Humility, and the disinterrested

and mambitions Temperament of Mind, recommended to the Choice of a Statesman, are conspicuous in them, and the Memorialist is to stand excused as being without Blame, for lamenting the loss of such Worthies, who were the very Pillars of our English Constitution, and upon whom the whole Weight of the publick Affairs might have rested it self with as much Security as that of the Heaven's, is sabulously said to be upheld by Altas his Shoulders.

Not that the Queen is to be circumscrib'd within such Limits as lessent he Royal Prerogative, or to be confin'd to any other Choice of Officers and Servants, that what she is pleas'd to determine out of her great Wisdom, since where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, What doest Thou? But Princes in all Ages, especially of this Kingdom, have been humbly address'd in the behalf of such Officers of State, as have been thought to be rendered suspected to their Soveraigns without Grounds; and it is but three Years since, when a Majority of the House of Lords thought it no Breach of their Duty to Petition Her Majesty in Favour of the Lord Bishop of Worcester, then Lord Almoner, who was falling under her Royal Displeasure on account of an Humble Address from the House of Commons.

It is but natural for Men, who are conscious of no Crimes committed on their Part, to deserve the Loss of Offices, &v. to search into the Causes of their Removal, and testifie their Integrity with the Prophet Samuel, who, upon his Dismission from his high Trust of being Judge over all Israel, said, Bebold here I am; witness against me before the Lord, and before his Anointed: Whose Ox have I taken? Or whose As have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppress'd? or of whose Hands have I received any Bribe to blind mine Eyes therewith? and I will restore it you. As this very Question might be put by the Gentlemen above-mentioned, with all due Regard to the Regal Authority; so it could not but receive for Answer, by the universal Consent of the People,

People, as a Testimonial of every individual Patriot's faithful Services to his Queen and Country, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any Man's Hands, Sam. 1. 12 Cap. Where then is the Guilt of the Church's Sorrow, for the Discharge of such Gentlemens Attendance at Court? And where lies the Heinousness of the Crime in lamenting for their Departure from it? Who were the Ornaments and Props of it?

The Praises bestow'd on Men of Merit, cast oblique Reselections on no Persons but such as stand in need of it: And to say, That the Earl of Nottingham was a faithful and able Minister, is in no wise to accuse either of the Secretaries of State, now in Being, for the want of those Abilities; and the Earl of Rochester may be still an accomplish'd and wise Counsellor, without any Diminution to the applauded Character of the Lord High Treasurer; as well as the Duke of Buckingham, whose exquisite Skill and Penetration into the most intricate Arcana's, does not in the least derogate from his Successor to the Privy Seal, his Grace of N--.

If the Earl of Jersey is held in Esteem by all that know him, for a Gentleman of an approved Demeanour and courte-ous Disposition to those that have Recourse to him, must the Consequence of it be, that the present Lord Chamberlain is the very Reverse of him? Or if Sir Edward Seymour is extoll'd for his Judgment in Parliamentary Affairs, his Know-ledge in Publick Managements, and his unwearied and undaunted Application for the Good of his Queen and Country, must Mr. M— that has now the Possession of his White Staff, know nothing at all of the Publick Concerns, and be charg'd with want of Assiduity for the Common Interest?

By no Means: Sir George Rooke may be a Gentleman, who has no Superior in Courage and Conduct as to Marine Affairs; but yet we are not to infer from thence, that the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudsly Shovel are not his Equals in Experience.

Experience. In short, the Character of this or that Officer of State that is dismised from his Employments, is not to be held injurious to those that officiate in their Places: For if the Reader will believe the wisest of Statesmen, It is as much Glory to succeed a Man of Probity and Experience, as it is to be succeeded by a Person of the same Qualifications. And the Wisdom of the Queen, and her present Ministry, is too conspicuous, not to submit the Direction of Affairs to such Gentlemen as shall make amends for the Loss of such Countellors.

Not but had those we have loss been continued, with the Addition of such as we retain, we might have had most assured Hopes of Victories abroad, and Peace at home, (tho' Heav'ns be prais'd, we have more than our Share of these Blessings, as Things now stand;) for the more in Number the Ministers are, the more fortunate must be the Result of their Councils; and that may be effected, through the Debates of abundance of different Sentiments and Opinions, that would come to nothing through the too hasty Determinations of a few.

Which puts me in Mind of Sir William Waller, who, delivering his Sense to the House concerning Grievances, in King Charles the First's Time, said, "That the true Cause of them was, for that, (as was said of Lewis the Eleventh of France) All the King's Council rode upon one Horse." Wherefore His Majesty was to be advised, as Moses was by Jethro, to make Choice of Counsellors to assist him, as "should be thus qualified: 1. Noble, and not Upstarts of a "Night's Growth. 2. Men of Courage, such as would execute their own Places, and not commit them to undeserving "Deputies. 3. Fearing God, not inclining to salse Worship, or halting between two Opinions. 4. Dealing truly, not given to Flattery, or fawning Courtship, but such as might be safely trusted by the King and Kingdom. 5. Hating "Coveranges, and not such as livid upon other Mens Ruines,"

"or that would take BRIBES, or fell Places in Church, or Commonwealth, and about the King. 6. To be many, In the Multitude of Counfellors there being Safety. 7. To judge of finall Matters as well as the greatest, being to be referred to King, and not one Counsellor alone to take upon him the whole Management of a Business. 8. Elders, not young and unexperienced Men, thro whose rash and unadvised Proceedings, great Designs many times miscarry. Vide Backer, in Vita Car. prim. Fol. 468.

That we are happy under this State-Oeconomy, we are all bounden in Duty to acknowledge; and what remains for him that has stated the Case of this Memorial, is only to conclude his Observations, with this Request; That God would be pleas'd to preserve our most Gracious Queen from all her Enemies, and abate their Malice, assuage their Pride, and confound their Devices; to direct and prosper all the Consultations of her Ministers, to the Advancement of his Glory, the Good of his Church, the Sasety, Honour, and Welfare of our Sovereign, and her Kingdoms: And if Spiritual Wickednesses are departed from our High Places, and all Things run according to the Tenour of the preceding Advice, that he would vouchsase, out of his Infinite Wisdom, to continue to us these Bleslings, so as there may no farther Complainings in our Streets, and no Occasion for another MEMORIAL.

The Reader is defir'd to amend the following Millakes of the Printer.

AGE3. Line 18. for Mis, read the p. 4.1.17. f. Lieutenancy, r. Lieutenancies. p. 12. l. 32. after Merit, r. Might., p. 15. l. 2. f. Terno, r. Tertio. p. 17. l. 6. f. Bring, r. Bringing, p. 18. l. 31. after Services, r. but. p. 19. l. 18. after Church, r. are Ibid. l. 27. after make, r. the. p. 20. l. 2. after being, r. too numerous to be. Ibid. l. 18. after alarmed, r. fo. p. 21. l. 4. after make, r. a. Ibid. l. 27. f. foherly, r. folely.

Advertisements.

There is now in the Press

League and Covenant, as it passed in England by the Parliament, Jan. 29. 1644. With the Persons Names then present. Whereunto is annex'd, 1. The latter part of a Sermon preach'd by Edm. Calamy, Jan. 14. 1645. before Sir Tho. Adams, Lord Mayor; together with the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London; being the Day of their taking the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. The Manner of His Majesty King Charles the Second's Coronation, as it was asked and done at Scoon the first of January, 1651. (when they craimm'd the Solemn League and Covenant down his Throat:) V. the a Sermon by Robert Douglas, Minister at Edinburgh. To which is an Appendix. Price 15.

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